

JAN 23 1963

STATINTL

Approved For Release 1999/09/16 : CIA-RDP70-00058R000200100129-6
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — SENATE

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To the extremists this presents an intolerable dilemma. They insist that we should withdraw and at the same time unilaterally control the tide of world events. Our failure to accomplish this impossible task is in the minds of many a proof of Communist infiltration and subversion in high places. The only solution is simple—root out communists from American leadership.

The patent absurdity of this approach may not always protect us from it. As tensions heighten and frustrations continue we may weary of the struggle to keep the free world together and moving forward in a common defense against its enemies and in a common attack upon its economic and social problems. We may tire of our efforts to help the emerging nations achieve their legitimate goals in independence.

Then the constant reiteration of the extremists' theme that the struggle is not necessary—even that it is irrelevant—may by slow degrees erode, at first our understanding of the problems which we face, and then our will to meet them in rational ways. The result could be disastrous for America and for mankind.

The struggle for freedom is a never-ending one. Freedom can never be finally achieved. Each generation must contend for it anew, must nurture and defend it. Each of us, as an individual, as a member of a community, as a citizen of the Nation, has a responsibility here, a responsibility which we cannot shift and must not shirk.

It is a responsibility to reject the deceptively easy solution, the simple big answer, to any of our problems, whether on the world scene or at home, a responsibility to reject the methods which extremists employ to compel others to accept their views of the problems we face. Above all, it is a responsibility to reject the absolutism which lies at the heart of their thinking. Man is, at best, a fallible creature, but of all the errors of which he is capable, none could be greater, since it is less reversible, than that of absolutism.

I am confident we will meet our responsibility. As a people, Americans have shown relatively little affinity for ideological argument. But we do have a deep-rooted blend of common sense and basic decency that while it tolerates extremism, also assures its repudiation.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR MANSFIELD

Mr. METCALF. Mr. President, in a recent issue, the Lewistown (Mont.) Daily News paid well-deserved tribute to our distinguished majority leader, the senior Senator from Montana [Mr. MANSFIELD].

Under the heading, "A Man Among Men," the editorial writer noted the burden of the chief participants in the often cruel and relentless crucible of debate and decision. Despite these burdens, he said:

Senator MANSFIELD remains a man of our people, from whom he derives inspiration and strength even as he himself reflects the steadfastness and grandeur of our shining mountains.

Despite the national recognition accorded Senator MANSFIELD he continues to watch vigilantly every need for Montana. And no junior Senator ever had a more sympathetic and understanding senior colleague than I.

I ask unanimous consent to include in the Record at this point as a part of my remarks an editorial from the January 11 issue of the Lewistown Daily News.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

A MAN AMONG MEN

As the second session of the 87th Congress convenes, the eyes of the Nation and the world focus, among other top American governmental leaders, upon Montana's senior Senator MIKE MANSFIELD, majority leader of the U.S. Senate.

But while the rest of the world dispassionately views the chief participants in the often cruel and relentless crucible of debate and decision, Montanans observe with heart as well as hope. For Senator MANSFIELD, while he belongs to the whole country, is our Senator.

We want him to know that we are very proud of him.

We want him to know that we are with him.

We want him to know that he can count on us to understand that there are human limitations and that no one can do everything.

No one envied Senator MANSFIELD last January when his colleagues elected him to succeed the able, astute and colorful, not to mention powerful, LYNDON JOHNSON as majority leader. Senator MANSFIELD didn't ask for the job and this fact armed him to be independent and effective during the first session.

Even some of the most hard-bitten and cynical commentators have conceded after the first year that Senator MANSFIELD more than filled the big shoes left behind by Vice President JOHNSON.

No one can participate as a leader in an arena such as the U.S. Senate without controversy and criticism. There are times when Senator MANSFIELD, good soldier that he is, must be committed to administration programs as his party's leader in the Senate, which he would not support perhaps were he just another Senator. There are times when the administration finds it excellent to have the majority leader send up a trial balloon, which viewpoint may or may not be that of Senator MANSFIELD. Therefore, Montanans should understand these facts as they read about their Senator on the national and international scene.

Last year, by all accounts, Senator MANSFIELD achieved outstanding success in his first year as majority leader.

This year, we can expect even more accomplishment, even more recognition and stature for him.

Senator MANSFIELD is already being classed as the peer of any Senator ever sent from this great State, which is noted for sending great men to Washington. He is writing a record as majority leader which will rank among the very best in American history.

But despite the burdens of responsibility he carries during these crisis-filled and terrible times, he remains untouched by them. He remains a man of our people, from whom he derives inspiration and strength even as he himself reflects the steadfastness and grandeur of our shining mountains.

So, we hope our readers will occasionally take time out and drop the Senator a word of encouragement. And, busy as he is, this will be most welcomed and do him as much good as anything.

MUZZLING THE MILITARY

Mr. TOWER. Mr. President, the Senator from South Carolina [Mr. THURMOND] recently prepared a series of eight articles on the subject of "Muzzling the Military," and these articles are being printed in a number of newspapers across the country. These articles were

written for the purpose of giving the American people background information on the investigation which the Special Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee began today. In view of the timely nature of the information contained in these articles and the fact that they relate to a Senate investigation, I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the body of the Record.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

MUZZLING THE MILITARY—WHAT'S BEHIND THE GAO—I

(By U.S. Senator STROM THURMOND)

On January 23, the Special Preparedness Subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee will begin one of the most vital investigations undertaken on Capitol Hill in some time. The subcommittee is authorized to study and appraise the use of military personnel and facilities to inform military personnel and the public of the total menace which the forces of world communism pose to the free world.

The investigation will cover three areas: censorship of speeches and periodicals, troop information and education programs (including films), and cold war seminars. It is possible that the investigation could run for most of the congressional session.

The purpose of the investigation is not to promote sensationalism, spotlight Communists, or persecute individuals. Rather, it is to go to the source of the policy which authorizes or is responsible for (1) soft-pedaling statements on communism in speeches and articles, (2) shelving or de-emphasizing troop training programs designed to acquaint military personnel with our insidious cold war enemy and his brainwashing techniques which worked so well in the Korean War because our troops were ill-prepared, and (3) discouragement of utilization of military personnel and facilities in cold war seminars designed to give the public a better appreciation of the enemy, as authorized in a 1958 National Security Council directive.

Americans should have a full examination of these policies so they can decide whether they want present policies continued or modified. The study I have made thus far of these policies convinces me that they have a deep underlying purpose which has not been really apparent to the American public. This purpose is to combat the enemy in the cold war with a strategy which can be best defined as a no-win policy. We don't propose to win the cold war because we abhor only the aggressive, totalitarian aspects of communism.

In fact, we seem to be determined to join their professed revolution by adopting for ourselves and many of our allies the same social and economic measures which the Communists use as bait to attain their goal of world domination.

Mr. Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., administrative assistant to the President, has described experimentation in those social and economic proposals as democratic socialism.

If the American people desire a no-win foreign policy and a domestic policy of democratic socialism, then they should have full information on such policies. Above all, they should have complete information on the enemy we face in the cold war so they can determine, as they have a right to do, whether these policies best fit the most effective prescription for maintaining our constitutional republic and the many blessings of liberty it has been able to preserve for us through the years.

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